1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
Lesu

making a mask or *malanggan* he does nothing else but that.

Sex, then, is the major line on which the division of work is made and determines the daily labour. If a man becomes a specialist, it depends on his inheritance or purchase of magic, or special skill as a craftsman.

OCCUPATIONS

Those occupations which are most basic, in the sense that they go on continuously, are gardening, cooking, and fishing. Important, but more intermittent, are hunting, house-building, and the making of objects of material culture. The making of magic is not an occupation pursued for its own end, but is an intrinsic part and accompaniment of many tasks, as it is also of other aspects of life such as love-making or medical practices. The use of magic in connection with everyday occupations is indicated in the following description, but the detailed spells, their analysis as a way of thinking, the part they play in the mental life of the native, will be discussed in a later chapter.

GARDENING

Gardening consumes more time than any other occupation. On a normal day the adults start off for their gardens about an hour after sunrise and do not return until the middle of the afternoon. The gardens are usually some distance away from the village, sometimes a good hour's walk from the beach, along a narrow footpath through the bush. The reason for making the gardens so far away is that if made in the village the domestic pigs would break into them and eat the taro. Even as it is, the wild pigs do sometimes break in, and fences are always being mended to keep the animals out.

1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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There is no magic in ordinary gardening, but when particularly large crops are desired for special feasts, such as those accompanying circumcision or *malanggan* rites, the planting of the taro is preceded by the making of magic. After the ground is cleared, but before the planting begins, the taro magician makes his magic. Then, if the taro is to be used for an especially large and important feast, the rain magician is called upon to make his magic. A large amount of rain is considered necessary for a good crop of taro.[1]

The first stage in gardening is the clearing of a piece of bush ground, between six and seven hundred square feet in size, always done by a man, assisted sometimes by his son. This takes about two weeks if a man and his son work every day. Sometimes all the men of the hamlet will assist. For instance, all the men of Penguli helped Noas clear bush ground for a new garden, and a feast was held later in the day in payment for their assistance. First, the trees and brush are cut down and left a few days to dry and then burned; after this the place for the fence is "marked" by putting vine along the ground, and holes are made in which the posts of the fence will later be inserted. These holes are made with a long stick, sharpened to a point. The posts are stuck in and afterward the cross-pieces of the fence are laid. Bamboo is the most common material used for fences. Vine is used to tie the logs to the posts. When the ground is completely cleared and the fence finished, the garden is ready to be planted.

Planting is the woman's task, and taro is the chief crop. Very few yams are planted in Lesu, but in other villages (Logagon, Lossuk, etc.) yams are planted along with the taro in large quantities. But even here taro remains the staple

[1] In an exceptionally dry season taro may be transplanted to moist ground along a river. Then if rain should come it may be moved back again to its original place.

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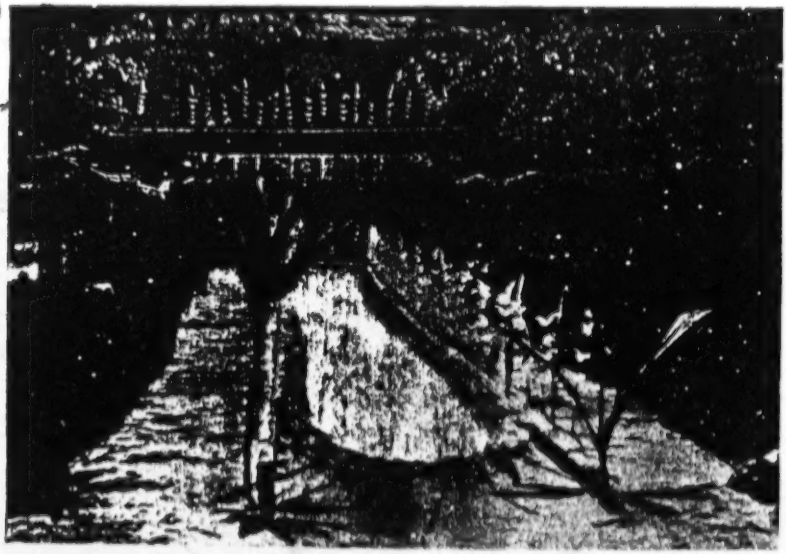
WORKING IN THE GARDEN



MALANGGAN WHICH WAS SOLD AND ITS DECORATIVE SETTING

[Facing p. 208]

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

attacking shoals of fish come near to take their share. The canoe-men throw in their fish bait to lure the sharks within range of their loops of cane, and then they catch them, and after knocking them on the head haul them into the canoe. 226

Small gardens are made wherever fertile ground can be found, and in one or two places there are sago swamps where sago is cultivated and reserved for times of dry weather and food shortage. 241 ●

In olden days trading was actively carried on between some of the coastal villages and Tabar. Nowadays the coastal and bush people barter with fish and taro, pigs, &c. 439

A shell money currency is used for trading and ceremonial purposes. It consists of smooth flat discs strung on fibre strands. At Kandan this is known as *levene*. One kind *levene da lolot*, a small red shell money, is made in the islands north of Kavieng and traded down the road; another *levene do liklik*, a small white shell money of lesser value, is made in the vicinity of Lemasong and Pinigindu. On the Lelet Plateau a different shell money *levene dasilok* occurs. It is of great value locally. Nothing was known of its origin, and there is relatively little of it left. When they showed it to me, I recognized it as the red shell money used in the D'Entrecasteaux group of Papua where it is known commonly as *sapi-sapi* and *bagi*. Similar shell money also occurs in the British Solomons. It probably found its way into the district during the "Blackbirding days" of olden times when many natives from this coast were recruited and taken to work on the cane-fields of Queensland. One or two of the survivors were met in the villages, still hale and hearty despite their age. 436 [171]

In this area there is still another kind of shell money *levene bungabung* made from white shell, the discs being larger than the other forms. The origin of this is also unknown.

The record of my enumeration of the population was handed to Mr. Charles H. Wickens, Commonwealth Government Statistician and Actuary, for consideration. His comments thereon are sub-joined— 128

The three tables which are appended have been compiled from investigations made by E. W. P. Chinery in the villages of the East coast of New Ireland, and provided a mass of data which might be profitably availed of by those wishing to make an intensive study of local conditions in New Guinea.

The first table is in respect of the components of population, and indicates by males and females the conjugal condition of adults, the number of children and adopted children and the number of village people who were absent at mission schools or at work outside the village.

The second table deals with the issue and survival of children of a number of unions in each village, and indicates the mortality of children during the lactation period (approximately two years after birth) and up to the time of the investigation, and number of children that were born per union and the number that survived per union. The mortality of first-born children is also shown.

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

The record depends entirely on the information given me by mothers who named their children in the order in which they were born, and then described those who died by saying "died while still breast-feeding", or "died after having finished with breast-feeding". Others standing by refreshed the memory of a mother as to names of children and approximate age at death when she appeared uncertain. Relatively few mothers had to be assisted in this way, but in one or two villages the information is not to be relied upon.

On looking down this column one finds that deaths during lactation are more numerous in some villages than in others, e.g., seven villages on the lower road between Kandan and Karu average 33 per cent. of issue dying during lactation. It is in this vicinity that the high central range runs close to the coast, its slopes falling abruptly down to the water's edge where the villages are built usually on coral cliffs. The cold mountain winds and rains sweep through them day and night, producing a climatic condition of sudden changes from heat to cold, which must be exceedingly dangerous for people who live there practically in nakedness. The garden lands are scattered all over the place, mostly on the steep mountain sides, and garden work is probably more strenuous than it is in the districts nearer to Kavieng, especially for pregnant women, or women nursing children that have to be carried about by their mothers when working in their gardens or looking for shell fish in the sea. I saw infants being fed on solid foods, and it was quite a common thing to meet pregnant women or women with babies trudging up and down the mountain sides on their way to and from the gardens, with enormous bags of food, and infants sitting on top of the bags. On discussing with the men the question of women resting while pregnant, I was told that the women insist on doing their share of the work at this period for fear of being shamed by other women, especially the older ones, who laugh at them if they become more careful with pregnancy and talk in a superior way of what women did and endured in olden times. At the same time, my informant pointed out, a husband steps in and relieves his wife as much as possible of heavy work during the period of gestation and lactation. I was also told that men try to keep their wives out of the water during these periods by doing more shell-fishing themselves. This may be so in a few individual cases, but I am inclined to think that most of the women have to bear their burden alone, and, as the conditions of life are rather too strenuous at this end of the road for child-bearing women, the health of both the mother and the child suffers, with disastrous results to the child. This, to my mind, accounts for the low issue rate and heavy infant mortality rate in this group of villages. Being situated where they are, far from any plantation and over 100 miles from the Medical Officer at Kavieng, places them out of reach of the present medical service, which is not able to cope

3: Chinnery G, E-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

population, with the object of ascertaining whether there is a fair distribution of work along the whole length of the road. At the same time, since it is desirable that able-bodied men and women, not absent from the villages on indentured service or for other reasons, should spend as much time as possible in food production, it is suggested that some system might be arranged for the road to be kept in repair by a mobile road gang, suitably equipped with transport and necessities, thus releasing the local natives for their own work, from which they might sometimes be absent longer than is compatible with welfare, e.g., occasions such as the building of new bridges, &c.

NEW AGRICULTURAL METHODS.

I have stressed the point that natives should be encouraged to spend as much time as possible in their gardens. At present, owing to the production of copra, which brings in ready money for relatively little labour, there is a tendency for some of the natives in well-planted districts to neglect garden work and live more or less on European food. One reason is of course the poorness of the soil, which, though suitable for coco-nuts, is not, under present methods of native gardening, fertile enough for food crops. Under the agricultural policy of the Administration, however, selected natives from various parts of the territory are to be trained in correct methods of cultivating good crops and other crops of economic value. They will learn how the fertility of the soil can be maintained, and how the same land can be kept in constant cultivation without deteriorating. I have discussed the problem of the east coast road of New Ireland with Mr. George Murray, Director of Agriculture, and he agrees with me that the introduction of proper methods of food cultivation will prove to be of great benefit to the people. Not only will they be saved the endless hardship of searching the bush for new garden ground (now necessary owing to primitive methods of shifting cultivation), but there will also be given to them a new interest of vital material value, which will do much towards regenerating them. It is important, therefore, that representatives from the various villages of the east coast of New Ireland should be encouraged to take the course in agriculture provided by the Government, or, if this cannot be arranged, that instruction be given in the villages.

GENERAL.

In general, the contentment and peaceful progress of a population rests largely on the confidence it has in its district officials and the influence exerted by such officials. Every means should be provided to assist district officials to increase their knowledge of the people for whose welfare they are responsible. Staff conditions should allow